

SECRET
MEMOIRS
OF THE
New Treaty of Alliance
WITH
FRANCE:

68 In which some of
The First Steps in that remarkable
Affair are discovered; with some Cha-
racters of PERSONS.



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THE
MEMOIRS
OF
THE
LORDS OF THE
TREASURY
IN
PARLIAMENT
ASSEMBLED
IN
THE
YEAR
OF
OUR
LORD
1781

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Printed
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A. MILLAR
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Sign of the Sun
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SECRET

MEMOIRS

OF THE

New Treaty, &c.

IT will be granted, that a Negotiation of so extraordinary a kind as this, of a defensive Alliance between two Nations, who have so many Years understood one another so ill, could not be brought to pass without the Agency of wise Heads; or the Measures for it laid, without the interposition of some of the best Masters of Address.

The Affairs of *France* being at this Time in such a *Crisis*, that the least Variation from the most steady and exquisite Conduct in the World would be capable for ever to overthrow the whole Work, it is not so much to be admir'd that the Persons, to whose Hands the Publick Administration is committed, have made use of their utmost Skill to manage, as well their home, as their foreign Interest; as it is that the World has been able to produce so many Heads so finish'd, for the nicest Transactions, and of the greatest Consequence in one Age, one Nation, and one Interest.

If the Wisdom of a Prince is shewn in the Choice of his Chancellors, I need take no better way to give a compleat Character of Monsieur the Duke of Orleans, Regent of *France*; than to say something of the Character of those Persons, who have the Honour of his Confidence at Home, and who he has singled out to manage his Negotiations abroad.

We know it is the Misfortune of most Courts, that those Gentlemen, who, by the Dignity of their Birth, and greatness of their Fortunes, stand at the Elbow of their Sovereign,

reign, and nearest to his Councils ; who claim Precedency in every honourable Post, and cannot well be denied a Share, in the Publick Administration of the State, are not always the best furnished for the Cabinet, or capable of sufficiently advising in the Exigence of Affairs ; nor are they always equal to some others, who, tho' removed farther from the Prince in their Birth and Dignity, are many times, by their Capacities, Zeal, and Fidelity, made useful to him, as Eyes and Hands in the nicest Parts of his Administration.

The Regent who knows this thoroughly, and is too sensible of the Circumstances he is in, either to disgust the first or want the Assistance of the last, is not to be blamed, if, when he calls Monsieur the Duke of *Bourbon* to the Council of the Regency, tho' under 24 Years of Age, in Compliment to his Birth, and the other Princes of the Blood also, to the seeming Management of Affairs ; not to do which, would be to create to himself irreconcilable Enemies, fill the Court with Brigues of Parties, and keep himself always uneasy ; I say, his Royal Highness is not to be blamed, if, at the same Time, it does not deprive himself of the Aid of their Councils who are much more equal to the Charge of a privy Councillor, tho' remov'd, *as above*, by Nature farther off from the Sovereign than the Class of a Prince of the Blood, or of a Duke and Peer of *France*.

Princes, who know not how to choose their Councils, know but ill how to judge of the Counsel they give ; and he who will sit down by the Course of Nature, and take those only to advise him, who have a Claim by Birth, whether they have Heads furnished for Counsel or not, shall oftner be guided by weak, than wise Men.

The Regent of *France*, in a long Series of Years, tho' he has not till now been much concerned in publick Trust, and in the Secret of Affairs, yet was always a nice Observer of those that were ; his high Birth and nearness to the Council, gave him opportunity to see much of the Measures, even when he was not admitted to the more secret Debates from whence they sprung : His Genius led him particularly to study Men, and to make himself Master of the Characters and Capacities, the Temper and Inclination of all the Men of Action at Court ; as who was, or who was not to be trusted ; whose Counsel was, or was not to be depended upon, who was a Man of Action ; who a Man of Counsel ; who

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rash, who sedate ; and likewise with respect to the Sphere of Action ; the particular Genius of every Man of Figure was observed by him, and what Nature had qualified them for ; as who was for the Cabinet, who for the Field ; who for the Finances, who for the Parliament ; who for secret Service, who for foreign Negotiations ; and the like ; not forgetting, who would be attach'd to his Interest, and who to his Enemies.

This Application of the Regent for some Years to the Knowledge of Men, may be justly assigned as the Cause why he has never been betrayed ; why his Counsels, at this Time, appear to be masculine, and equal to the Genius of an experienced Prince ; why we find every Person he employs, so particularly qualified for the most accurate Discharge of the Trust he is in, and suited by Inclination, to the Part he is to act.

Allow me to give some Examples of this Kind, as well to confirm this happy Attainment of the Regent, as to let us into some Knowledge of the Men.

The Cardinal *de Noailles*, is a Prelate of admirable Sagacity, of exemplary Piety, and furnished with a Zeal for our holy Religion, equal to the great Character he bears : As he is a good Judge of the Principles upon which Religion it self is founded, he is thereby not capable of being imposed upon, no not by the Apostolick Chamber it self ; and this led him to dispute the Injunctions of him, who, in other Things, he was willing to let the World believe was infallible ; his intrepid Courage made him impenetrable by all the Menaces, either of the *Vatican*, or of that much more dreadful Fulmination, *viz.* the Displeasure of the greatest and most impetuous King on Earth ; he seemed resolved to resist the Constitution *unigenitus* against them both ; wishing rather an Occasion to suffer even Martyrdom it self, than to give up his Judgment, Knowledge, Conscience, or Honour. And thus he stood at the Death of *Lewis XIV.*

It cannot be wondred, that the Regent who knew the Cardinal perfectly well, saw Reason to secure him to his Interest, as soon as the first Views of his being Regent presented themselves : It was well known, tho' the Regent had not declared himself upon the Constitutions, except to his private Friends, that he would not lose such a Man as the Cardinal, no not for all he had to hope for in the Favour

of the Court at *Rome*; and it was not doubted, but the Influence the Cardinal's Judgment in such Matters would have on the Regent, would soon byass him to appear on the same Side. Accordingly, the World has seen that Affair take a whole Turn at Court, and the Cardinal, who was before at the Point of going to the *Basilic*, in order to be sent bound Hand and Foot to the Pope, and be sacrific'd by the Inquisition, sees himself plac'd now at the Head of the *Gallican* Church, and presiding in the Council of Conscience.

But we are not to think, that this great Genius acts in that narrow Sphere, confin'd as a Star within its Orbit; the Regent knows too well the Value of the Person, and we find him the great Director of the publick Affairs, without whose Advice the Regent does nothing, and on whose Fidelity and Capacity his Royal Highness chooses to depend.

His Wisdom is not seen more, in the Counsels which he gives, than it is in that eminent Humility and Self Denial which he shews, in keeping the being thus employed as the profoundest Secret in the World. It is hard to say, whether it is the greatest Compliment to the Regent, or to the Cardinal, that he is thus employed, the Judgment of the latter is not more extraordinary in it self, than the Judgment of the other is conspicuous in the Wisdom of such a Choice.

It is owing to the exquisite Conduct of this sage Ecclesiastick, that the Regent pursues the best Measures, in the most exact Manner: Every thing is manag'd by his Advice, every Mistake the Ministers make is corrected in Time, by his Vigilance; he is the Reason why every Advantage that offers, is us'd with Moderation, every Doubt happily determin'd, every Difficulty master'd with Success; the warm Advices other Councillors give, are temper'd by his Prudence, and the Civil as well as Ecclesiastick Interests of *France*, are preserv'd by his Wisdom.

In the Affair of the Church, he has the Jesuits at Home, and the Councils of *Rome* and *Madrid* abroad, to cope with; yet he stands his Ground successfully against them all, not giving them the least Advantage over his Measures; the Rage of the Clergy move him no more than the Threatnings of the Soldiery; he sees them forming Parties against him, and smiles at their Power, as he does at their Politicks; he is easie, without being secure; re-

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sents, without Anger ; and is cautious, without Apprehensions.

Wonder not if he acts in the Person of the Regent, in every nice Affair, while the Regent has the Honour of governing the whole Kingdom without a Prime Minister.

The Regent found the *Mareschal de Villars* in the Height of his Power and Influence ; nor was it the easiest thing in the World for a Prince, who came to the Regency in the Teeth of Three Factions, to think to mortifie the proudest and most revengeful Gascogn in France : But the Steadiness of the Cardinal supported his Fears, and at the same Time that the Regent's own Judgment told him it must be done, the Resolution of the other told him he should not fear to do it.

It is related of Monsieur *Villars*, that his Pride had puff'd him up to that Degree, that when News was brought of the Defeat of *Mareschal Tallard*, at the great Battle of *Blenheim*, he said aloud, *Villars cannot be every where*. To which the Duke of *Villeroy*, who was standing by, and who is very ill-natured at a Jest, answered, It was the humblest Thing the *Marschal de Villars* had ever said in his Life ; for it was great Condescension in such a Man as he, to own himself to be below Him that made him. It was no small Thing to attack such a Man as *Villars*, and especially at such a Time, when Fame was so much his Friend, and when he was puff'd up with the greatest Flux of Successes that had happened to France in Twenty Years ; for he had beaten the Dutch Troops at *Denain*, taken the Earl of *Albemarle* Prisoner, obliged Prince *Eugene* of Savoy to raise the Siege of *Landrecy* ; he had taken *Marchiennes*, and four or five little Places on the *Scheld*, *Tout d'un Coup* all at a Blow, with Ten or Twelve Thousand Prisoners, and an ineffimable Booty in the first, (*viz.*) all the Magazines and military Stores of the Confederate Army, and 120 Bylanders, or large Vessels, loaden with Ammunition. After this, the same Campaign he took *Doway*, in the Face of Prince *Eugene*, and almost 10000 Men ; as also *Bouchain* and *Quesnoy*, and all these still in one Piece of a Summer. Which effectually brought the Dutch to sign the Peace at *Utrecht*. After this, he had carried on the War on the Upper Rhine, and taken *Fribourg*, had negotiated the Treaty with Prince *Eugene* in Person, and brought the Emperor to sign the general Peace at *Baden*. In a Word, he had given Peace to France, and as our Circumstances then

then were, he rather, deserved, that his Statute in Brass should have been erected, as the Saviour of his Country, than that he should be thought capable of meriting to be ill treated.

But his unsufferable Pride and Arrogance robb'd him of the Reward of all his Services, and he made himself intolerable to every one : He thought not the Regent only, but the King himself, ought to ask his Leave to reign, and his Gasconading grew the Jest of the Court. Had he gone on, he must have been the *By-word* of his Country, and it would have been a Proverb, *To be as Ridiculous as the Marechal Villars.*

It was the Regent's good Fate that the *Mareschal de Villars* disoblig'd every Body ; the Soldiers were ashamed of him, and as for the Officers, he was their Aversion : The few that depended upon him, did him some Service, by excusing his Infirmary on Account of his Services ; but they went but a little way to help him : The Regent was a little perplex'd that he saw a Necessity of removing him ; but the Cardinal delivered him, by giving that exquisite Turn to him, first, to make him President of the military Council, and then to send him from the Court.

It was an inexpressible Mortification to the *Mareschal*, to be commanded to his Government ; but ten thousand times more afterwards, to have a military Command given to the *Marschals Berwick* and *Montesquion*, even in his (*Villars*) Bounds, independent of the Governour.

We all found that Peace would be the Issue of thus dismissing the *Mareschal* ; for his insolent Temper made him so incapable of judging what was his Country's Interest, or so willing to sacrifice it to his own, that he would have been content to have renewed the War again with all *Europe*, to have seen himself once more at the Head of the Army.

But Thanks be to Heaven, we are influenc'd now by better Councils ; and this happy Advice having delivered the Regent from one that we might call every Body's Rival, as well as his, the latter went on now with more Assurance and Satisfaction : I might give an Instance, in his erecting, at that Time, the Chamber of Justice, which he could not well do, while a Man remained at Court, who had Power to protect Criminals, and was vain enough to do it, to fortifie his own Interest. But I must not run too far into these Things. The

The Marquis *de Torcy*, is a Genius capable of Business, and had gone thro' the Office of Secretary of State with reputation : But unwilling to embroil himself in new Measures, he offered to retire, and had a Grant of the Post-Office; a Thing better qualified to satisfy his Avarice, than his Ambition. But tho' his Endeavours to re-assume the Office was seemingly repulsed, yet he was fully satisfied when he found he was thought useful in a secret Capacity, that the Regent would make him rather his Confident than his Servant, and that the *Mareschal d'Harcourt*, who officiated in his Place, was rather nominally, than essentially Secretary of State. This Gentleman new as much of the *English* Affairs, as any single *Frenchman* could be supposed to do, and had the Character of the Managers in *England* at his Fingers Ends, better indeed than some at home had of our own People. The Cardinal and the Marquis, in their respective Places, were sufficient to the Regent, he was not a Prince that wanted to be govern'd, but assisted by his Council; and he knew how to accept of Advice, rather than submit to it.

It was easie to know what would be the Measures, when we knew who were in the Secret, and from this very Day the Affairs of the *Chevalier de St. George* began to look with a dull Aspect : The old Court, so we called the Party, who, with the *Mareschal de Villars*, the *Duke d'Amont*, the *Duke du Main*, and his Friends, of whom we shall say no more, readily came into Proposals for assisting the said *Chevalier*. They alledged, for their Reasons, the Glory of re-establishing him upon the Throne, and giving a King to *Great-Britain*, as they had done to *Spain*. They urged the Intelligence from *England*, where the Disaffection to the House of *Hanover*, as we were assured, run so high, that nothing was wanting but the Person to appear with a sufficient Force to make a Stand, &c. This Account was back'd with another, viz. That all the *North of Britain* were in Arms, that the *Chevalier* was proclaimed, and that the Lord *Mar* had already 40000 Men, and wanted nothing but a Supply.

It is confess'd, that these things were so rational, and the Circumstances so magnified at first, that it was the Opinion of some very able Heads, that it was an Opportunity not to be rejected; and that tho' it was necessary not openly to declare for the *Chevalier*, as the late King had resolved

to do, and so to commence a new War in Europe, as it was evident would be the Consequence; yet that at least secret Permission to private Persons might be given, to act as they should see Cause in their private Capacity; the Government to wink at, but not to appear in it; because they were bound in Honour, by the Peace of *Utrecht*, not to assist publicly, &c. Upon these Measures it was, that several Ships were fitted at *St Maloes*, to carry all sorts of Provision, Ammunition, a Train of Artillery, &c. into *Scotland* to assist the Earl of *Mar*, together with a Number of Volunteers, &c. for which Reason the *Irish* Regiments were to be seemingly broken, and be immediately entertained in the Service of the *Chevalier*, which Ships were actually hir'd or bought, and some Part of the Ammunition and Arms also put on Board.

The *English* Resident, the Earl of *Stair*, was too vigilant not to discover a thing thus openly carried on, and he presented a warm Memorial against such faithless things. The Equipment, it suffered to go on, being a direct Infraction of the Peace; and great Debates were had in the Council on this Head, whether they should openly declare and espouse the *Chevalier*, or put him upon the Fidelity and Vigour of his own People, going on to assist him underhand as before. There wanted not some, who being Friends to precipitant Measures, moved, that we should openly declare our selves, and send the *Chevalier* to *Scotland* with Ten Thousand Men, with all sorts of Supplies, &c. and immediately march 40000 Men, to the Frontiers of *Holland*, on Pretence of favouring the Cause of the Elector of *Cologne*, then in Dispute; and that after this, the Duke of *Ormond*, who about this time, openly declared for the *Chevalier*, should be assisted with a strong Squadron and 20000 Men to land in *England*.

The Council were frequently very sanguine upon these Proposals, and once or twice it wanted but little of being carried for an open Rupture; so ready were those, who delight in War, to involve their Country in a new Scene of Blood and Destruction, tho' the finishing the last was esteemed so eminent a Deliverance to *France*.

But the Wisdom of the Cardinal *de Noailles*, and the well advised Conduct of the Regent, inspir'd by his prudent Council, prevented all this; and now the Regent began

to see with other Eyes than these Men made use of, and better Measures took Place.

The Duke of *Berwick*, a *Mareschal of France*, and natural Son to the late King of *England*, is more a Soldier than an Ecclesiastick, and consequently fitter for a General than a Bishop; but he is the more accomplish'd General, by being the best Man of Council in the Army: Of him it may truly be said, that he has a cool Head with a warm Heart; and it was a just Observation of our late August Monarch, that the Duke of *Berwick* never did a rash thing when he was a young Man, and would never do a weak thing when he was old. As the King's Judgment was profound, his Character of any Man was a sufficient Fame, and we might depend, that whoever he spoke well of, deserved it. The Regent was too sensible of his Capacity to want his Assistance, and if we find him in the greatest Trust, as well as most private Councils, at so nice a Juncture as this, 'tis because the Regent knew as well who to trust, as those he trusted knew how to deserve his Confidence: This Prince had, on many Occasions, given signal Testimony of his Conduct and Courage in the Service of *France*; but never so much of his disinterested Zeal for her Honour and Safety as now. No Man in *France* could know so much as he of the Nature, Power and Circumstances of the *British* Nation; and tho' he wanted no Courage to face them, on Occasion, and had, with excellent Conduct, as well as good Fortune, happily gain'd an entire Victory over their whole Army at *Almanza* in *Spain*; yet he was far from lessening his Opinion of the Danger to *France*, in renewing the War against a Nation so impetuous, implacable, and revengeful; and therefore, tho' he was zealous for the *Chevalier*, yet he came presently into the Cardinal's Sentiments on that Head, viz. That they should openly declare against giving any Assistance, &c. to the *Chevalier*: That they should give King *George* all the good Words imaginable. In short, that tho' perhaps, by Connivance, something might be done; yet that all publick Assistance must be disavowed and disowned; that the *British* Envoy must have all the Civility possible used to him, even to Solemn Assurances and Engagements, and protesting to punish all the Subjects of *France* that should infringe their Treaties, with the utmost Severity.

It is true, that this satisfied the *British* Envoy upon the Occasion of his Complaints for a Time; but as that Lord is a penetrating, vigilant Minister, he immediately found Cause to complain how ill those neutral independent Engagements were performed, and then upon those Complaints he obtained new Engagements to discountenance the Designs, which, however, were not much better observed than the other.

Besides the Sollicitations of the Envoy of this Kind, he had in his Commission, a Complaint upon the imperfect demolishing of the Fortifications and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and opening a new Port by a large Canal which was to have it's Entrance at *Mardyke*. This Complaint was pushed on with so much Warmth, that frequently Menaces were used in the Memorial, and Letters presented upon that Head, the Count *de Stair* refusing to take any publick Character, offering to be gone, and the like warm Steps being taken.

The Answers in these Cases were softned to the last degree, giving all the favourable Explanations to the Design, and promising several things, till at length it became smothered up in a long Dispute, and the Work of the Canal went on apacethe whole Time.

The Regent had carried these things almost as far as they would go, when the *Chevalier*, who had been in *Scotland*, but was able to get no Body of Troops along with him, and had found himself greatly disappointed in the Forces of his Friends there, came back again, entirely disappointed, and re-landed in *France*.

If the Regent car'd not to venture a Rupture in behalf of the *Chevalier* before, it was quite out of the Question now; there was no Room left to debate, whether he should be countenanc'd any more or no; so he was let to know, by the Means of his Mother, who negotiated indeed all his Affairs, that he was desired not to take it ill, that, as *France* was now circumstanc'd, he had nothing more to expect from them, and that he must think of removing immediately, out of Sight at least, that he might the better take an Opportunity of retiring out of the Kingdom.

The same Reasons mov'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to refuse his Return to *Barleduc*; and finding no Retreat for himself and his Attendants, who began now to be as numerous

rous as necessitous, he was obliged to desire Leave of the Pope to retire to *Avignon*, which his Holiness readily granted, and where we find he still continues.

At this Distance it will not be wondred that his Interest dropt at our Court, and the Regent, who found plainly that nothing could be done for him, found it as necessary that nothing should be said for him; but that *France* was at any Time to make a Sacrifice of the *Chevalier* to the cultivating an Interest with *England* at his Expence.

It was about this Time that the Regent discovered several Brigues and Cabals on Foot against his Interests, some at the Court of *Spain*, others at *Rome*; some at *Home*, and even in the very Court; most of which had a Tendency to dispossess him of his present Power; but all of them were avowedly pointed at the Prospect of his Succession, in Case of the King's Decease: I know not whether it was from hence, that about this Time began that famous Contest now depending, between the natural Sons of the late Reign, who were declared Legitimate, and the Princes of the Blood, about the said Act of Legitimation. But this is evident, that this Dispute assists to form the Nobility into Parties, which Parties, in the Course of things, necessarily affect our other Disputes. The Regent has not yet declared himself upon this tender Point, but acts a wise Part in keeping himself reserv'd; for even the Cardinal himself, finds some Difficulty to know what Measures to take in it; the rather, because the *Duke de Main*, who is the Head of the Defendants, that is the Legitimated, seems to be making Interest in the Court of *Spain*, to support his Pretensions; and as the Court of *Spain* embraces and espouses the said Duke, it has made some Discovery of what was vehemently suspected before at Court, viz. That King *Philip* began to repent his Renunciations, and would not fail, on Occasion, to dispute his Claim to the Crown. It appeared too plainly, that the *Duke de Main* would favour such an Attempt, or indeed any Attempt against the Regent, whom he could not forgive the dispossessing him of the Powers given him by the late King's Will, and putting the Duke of *Bourbon* into that Branch of them, which relates to placing Officers in the Troops of the Household: All which Things discovered themselves more fully about this Time, in that King *Philip* had emitted a Declaration of his
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Right, in Case the young King should die; a Dispute, which, it is yet to be feared, will one time or other kindle the Flame of a Civil War in this poor wasted Kingdom.

The precarious Life of an Infant King, the powerful Parties which *SPAIN*, backed by the Princes aforesaid, and their Interest, might make in France, with the Sense of how weak the Interest of the House of *Orleans* would probably be on such an Occasion, fill'd the Regent with uncommon Concern for the Event: Here his Anxiety drove him to consult his fast Friends, and to enter with them into a serious Consideration of the State of his Affairs, who, revolving the said State of Affairs, quickly came to this Resolution. That nothing but an Alliance with *England* could be a Security to him: A short Resolve; but that had very just Arguments to support it. The Difficulty lay in the Possibility of bringing such a Thing to pass.

It happened very well for France, that at this Time Great Britain, however victorious over her Rebels at home, and strengthened by Alliances abroad, had yet something in her Circumstances which promised fair towards the Design above, and gave Reason to believe, that the British Court would be very well satisfied to be made perfectly easie from abroad; that the *Chevalier* should receive no farther Countenance or Assistance from France; that his Person should be removed, and his Friends find no Sanctuary in our Court.

The Works at *Mardyke*, we found very uneasy to the British Court. They talk'd very big by the Count de *Stair* upon that Subject at *Paris*; and some Menances were added. But the Regent, who, had he not been embarrass'd another Way, would not have scrupled to have brought those Works to Perfection, laid little Stress on those things; believing that the Letter of the Treaty left him room to make such Works, and that the Justice of it might have been very easily maintained by Reason; and at the same Time, was not ignorant that the Allies, who had all a share in the Peace, and some of whom were great Gainers by it, would not easily have been brought into a new War, upon that Account only.

Besides this, France had a thing in their Power to offer, which they were very certain would be demanded by *Eng-*

land; because it was thought to be of infinite Value to them in their Commerce, and which France did by no means put an equal Value upon; and this was the Colony on *Cabritoon*, or *Cape-Brum* in *America*: It was left to the French by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, as an Equivalent for quitting the Country of *Nova Scotia*, and the Coast of *Nova Nova*, or *Newfoundland*, to the English. The Merchants, it seems, in *England*, make loud Complaints for giving up that Point of Land to us; but as we never found it any Advantage to our fishing, and that the meer planting there is of small Service, the Country being cold, barren, and inhospitable; so we might, with great Satisfaction, part with a thing which had the good Luck, in *England*, to be much more valued, than we thought it was worth.

It was well observed by the Cardinal, and others to the Regent, that while France had three such Sacrifices to make, there was no doubt but *England* might very well be brought to bid for them; especially while the Price which was to be demanded, was nothing contrary to the common Interest of *Britain*, and nothing equal to the Value which they set upon them in *England*.

Upon this Supposition, it was next examined, in a secret Council, what Measures were to be taken to set such a private Negotiation on Foot. This was a Debate which took up much more Time than the thing it self, and was in its Nature difficult enough. The English, a Nation where the People govern very much the State, and where nothing goes easily down that is not popular: A People in general; not the easiest in the World to be reconciled to their own Interests, and naturally averse to any Engagements with France; I say, It was very probable this People would not easily be made sensible of the Advantages which might be offered by France, on this Occasion; and would blow upon it; and especially as they were just now puffed up a little with the flourishing Posture of their Affairs, upon the Reduction of the Insurrections in *Scotland*, it was on these Accounts, very likely they would be still more backward, and might treat the Proposal with Contempt.

The Duke of B——— said plainly, there was no Thoughts of going such a Way to work; that the English Nation would immediately suggest, and he was assured, as he

he said, *they did so already*, that the Regent was struck with the Terror of the *British Power*, and was willing now to send them the *Charte Blanc*, and grant all that could be demanded, rather begging, than giving Terms of an Accommodation; but that if such a Thing was designed, and they would in earnest bring the Court of *England* to accept a Proposal of this Kind, the only Measures they could take were, to set a new Face upon their Conduct, to encourage the *Chevalier* to a new Attempt, send him privately a Sum of Money, and another to the Duke of *Ormond*, order a Squadron of 30 Men of War, to be fitted out, on pretence of guarding the Coast, and bring a Body of 40000 Men together, care for the Refugee *Scots*, that fled from their Defeat at *Perth*, let the *Chevalier* hire a great many Transports, &c. and thus bring every thing to an Appearance of a new Invasion. All which things might be done, and yet the Regent might seem not to be openly concerned in the Preparations. The *Irish* Brigade of Foot, and *Nugent's* Regiment of Horse, might be openly disbanded, and take Pay immediately in the Service of the *Chevalier*, and all things be made to look, as if the *Chevalier* was just ready to embark; then SAYS HE, you will find Room to make advantageous Proposals, and they will be accepted with Freedom.

The Opinion was like a Man that understood the Circumstances of *Great-Britain* but too well; but it was the Opinion of a longer Head than the Duke's, that there was no need for such an expensive Feint at all, that would amount to an immense Sum; besides, he alledged, it was not honest, and might, in the Consequence of it, be very prejudicial to the *Chevalier*, and to his Friends, both Abroad and at Home; particularly in *Great-Britain*, where it might ruin a great many honest Gentlemen, bringing them in to discover themselves in the thing it self, as if they were to be powerfully assisted, and so perhaps might break out in Arms, and be destroyed; that it would be infamous to *France*, thus to draw them into the Snare, on Purpose to carry on a private Interest for abandoning them; and withal, that it was to be considered, whether such avowed Preparations in *France* might not draw on them a Declaration of War from *England*, before things should be ripe for the Turn intended.

Monfieur T ——— joined warmly in this Opinion ; adding, that they might depend upon it, that on the first Appearance of the *Chevalier*, or of any for his Interests ; and upon the arming a Squadron of Men of War, the *British* Resident who, they knew, kept his Spies out in every Corner, and had an especial Eye on these things, would make strong Remonstrances against them, and give in Memorials, pressing them to declare themselves ; in which Case the Regent would be obliged to forbid, and, *bona fide*, put a Stop to their Preparations, or to countenance them more openly, than could consist with the Faith and Honour of the Treaty of *Utrecht* ; an either of these would destroy the Proposal ; 1. By really stopping the Preparations, in which Case the first Design would be destroy'd ; OR, 2. By owning them, they would inevitably bring on a War, which of all things in the World, as their present Circumstances stood, they were to avoid.

The Duke urg'd still, that they might avoid both, and steer a middle Way between all these ; that they might disown the Preparations avowedly, and yet not be over-forward to put a Stop to them ; that when the *British* Resident should make such pressing Instances, to have the Regent declare himself, and should, perhaps, menace them with a Declaration of War, then was the Time to let the Resident know, 'THAT though it might be true, that several private Persons had encourag'd the *Chevalier* with Money, and Promises of Assistance, that yet the Government had not done it : THAT if the not declaring openly against it, was not so readily comply'd with, as was expected, the Court of *England* might easily see, it was because the Regent, who was surrounded with new risen Parties in the Administration, was pressed hard in many things ; and even threaten'd, in Case of the King's Death, by the Partizans of King *Philip*, with a Revocation of the engagements entered into at the Peace of *Utrecht*, and especially of the Renunciations : THAT on these Accounts, the Regent could not so heartily appear on this, or any other Occasion, as his own Inclination dictated to him to do, and as he would certainly do, if he had any other Supports, than what proceeded from the Prudence of his Conduct : THAT as he was then stated, he seem'd oblig'd to preserve a Neutrality in the midst of

growing Quarrels, and neither to make one Side or other his Enemy, least, in Case of any Accident befalling the Person of the King, whom God defend, the said Parties would join to bring in the House of Spain upon the Throne, which would necessarily involve France, if not a great Part of Europe, in a cruel War : THAT, on the other Hand, if his Britannick Majesty was willing to enter into such Measures, as might be for mutual Security, between his illustrious House, and the House of Orleans, and as might be effectual to give him, the Regent, sufficient Assistance in the Cases above, which even the Treaty of Utrecht it self tacitly implies : THAT then the Regent was ready to commence such an Understanding, as should immediately give the King of Great-Britain full Satisfaction in all his Demands, and to join with his Majesty heartily, not against the *Chevalier* only, but against all his Enemies whatsoever, at Home or Abroad.

This Discourse agreed exactly with the C———s first Design, only that he still declin'd the introducing it, by a fallacious Encouragement to the *Chavalier*, insisting that it might be as well propos'd directly, and, as he said, he did not question the Court of Great-Britain were too penetrating, not to know that the Regent had it in his Power to oblige them ; so the Offers he, the Regent, had to make to them, the King of Great-Britain was too wise not to close with, without their stooping so low, as to give the *Charte Blanc*, and leave the *English* to fill it up for themselves.

Upon these Debates, the Duke acquisc'd, and two things were offer'd.

1. To whom, and how the Proposals should be made. For Example, whether (1.) to the *English* Resident ; or (2.) at London by their own Resident, to the *British* Ministry ; or (3.) at Hanover, to the King in Person, who was just then expected from England. The first was rejected, as well because the said Resident had not yet taken upon him the publick Character of an Ambassador, and was at present no more than an Agent or Consul, as because they were not so well satisfied in his Affection to the thing.
2. To propose it to his Majesty at Hanover, seem'd not proper, because it was certain, the King would transmit it

it to *England* to the Council at *London*, where it must first be transacted.

3. It was then propos'd, that it should be transmitted to Monsieur *Ibberville*, the *French* Resident at *London*; whose Capacity, as well as Fidelity for a Business of such Importance, was well known; and at the same Time a Person should be employ'd, to communicate it to the King himself in *Holland*, upon his Arrival there, or where else was convenient; and this Method, it seems, is approved, with some Variation; such as ordering Monsieur *Ibberville* to make a Trip over to *France*, as upon his private Concerns, after having taken such Measures for his particular Information as was thought proper.

The next thing debated was, what should be the Ground-Plat of the Proposals.

There were many things offer'd here, and by several Persons, of which I may say, that had not the Prudence and Wisdom of the Regent and the Cardinal steddily interpos'd, some of them would have put the Treaty into such a Posture, as not to be fit to be propos'd to the *English* Court; or if it had been propos'd, would have made the rejecting it as certain, as the accepting it was desirable.

The Regent, as I hear, began, and told them, it was proper to consider of the Matters before them under two Heads.

1. What they had to ask of *England*.
2. What it was reasonable to expect *England* might ask of them.

The Marquis de ——— said, he humbly mov'd, they might begin with the last; because, as he said, it was proper for them to consult, whether there were not some things likely to be demanded, which they could not possibly grant, though the whole Negotiation was to be interrupted, and it was his Opinion that would be their Case. The C ——— desir'd he would explain himself: Upon which he told them, it was his Opinion, that the first thing the *English* would demand would be, that they should deliver up the *Chevalier*. 2. That they should deliver up the *English* Gentlemen fled to them for Shelter. No, says the C ———, they cannot ask us that; they can only desire us to cause them to retire out of *France*, and as

the first is what they cannot ask, so the second is what we cannot deny. *Your Eminence will deny the next thing they will ask, reply'd the Marquiss: What's that? said the Regent: That we receive back the Hugonots, says the Marquiss. Here 'tis reported, that the Cardinal gravely return'd, Sir, let us not suppose things to affront one another; it is not my Business to call them Home, and I thank God, I had no Concern in sending them away,*

This Discourse, whether true or not, has made us uneasy at the beginning it; and it begins now to be said openly, that the bringing Home the Hugonots, might be a Work as useful at this Time, as the banishing them was cruel and unnatural at first.

But others desiring that they might closely consider the Heads they were upon, they agreed better, and it was concluded, that it was probable,

1. *That the British Court would demand their utter abandoning the Interest of the Chevalier; and that this they must expect to grant; with an Addition, to enter into any Measures, in Conjunction with the King of Great-Britain, to make that Article certain and lasting.*
2. *That the British Court would demand, the stopping up the new Port at Mardyke; and that this they must likewise expect to comply with, upon just Limitations for the Safety of the Country.*
3. *That the British Court would demand, the breaking the Irish Troops in the French Service; and this, it was also allow'd, they would be oblig'd to grant.*
4. *That the British Court would demand a Guarrantee of the Succession in the Royal House, and Troops to act against the Chevalier, if desir'd; all which they could not deny.*

It was suggested likewise, that they would demand the taking off the Impositions upon the British Trade in France, and the Prohibitions of their Manufactures, without the Reduction of the Duties in England upon the Wines, Linen, Silks, and other Manufactures of France, which it would be very hard to make France submit to. Upon which the Marquiss de Huxelles is said to have reply'd, he believed the English Nation were more generous and just, than to desire it.

Generous! said the Duke of ——— and smiled, but said no more.

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It was the next thing in Course to consider, what it was proper for *France* to ask of the *British* Court, in Case of a Treaty; nor was this long in considering, the first Article containing the Substance of what the whole Treaty was desir'd for, (*viz.*) That the King of *Great-Britain* would engage to support the Duke of *Orleans* in the Regency, and Succession of *France*, according to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the Article of the Renunciations; that if the Regent should be oppress'd by the Parties in another Interest at Home, or should be attack'd from Abroad, the King of *Great-Britain* should assist him 12000 Foot, and 2000 Dragoons, whenever he should desire the same.

It gave some Hesitation at first to the Consultations on this Head, that they were at a little Loss, whether they had any thing else to desire, when the Duke of *B* ——— mov'd again, with relation to the *Chevalier*, (*viz.*) That if they should yield on the Demands of *England*, to renounce him, and to remove him for ever, they ought, however, in Honour, to do some good Offices for his Dependencies, and People, who had follow'd his Fortunes to the last Distress of his Affairs; and that they could do no less than to demand, or at least to intercede, that they should be pardoned, and admitted to return to their native Country, giving such Security for their future Conduct, as the King should desire.

But an answer was always ready to this, that this was to interpose in the Disposition of the King of *Great-Britain's* particular Affairs; which is a thing Princes always avoid, and which would necessarily lead the *British* Court the same Intercession for the banished *Hugonors* of *France*.

The Duke insisted, that, however, they ought in Honour to solicit for the Payment of the Dower and Arrears to the *Queen Dowager* of *England*; that she was married to the King of *England*, upon the Recommendation of *France*, who also paid or procur'd, her Marriage-Portion, being 1200000 Crowns, and that *France* was in some Measure engaged to have her Dower made good. This was allowed, and they thought it might be insisted on with some Justice.

It came next to be considered, whether *Great-Britain* might not be made the leading Instrument, to bring in o-
ther

ther Powers into the same Treaty for Assistance, and this brought on several other Proposals.

1. That they should endeavour to engage the King of *Great-Britain*, to cause the Mediation of *France* to be accepted by the *Northern Confederates*, in order to obtain a Peace to the King of *Sweden*. This, however, had a Clause added, by the Prudence of the C———, (*viz.*) Or to desire the King of *Great-Britain*, to take upon himself the Arbitration of that War, and bring all the Parties to a reasonable Peace.

The Reason of this was very much approved; because as *France* had done many Acts of Friendship and Kindness for the King of *Sweden*, in his lowest Circumstances, they had Reason to expect a fast Friend of his *Swedish Majesty*, in case of need, especially if he was once fully delivered from the heavy War which now lay upon his Hands.

2. That the States General might be moved to come into the same Treaty, upon the same Foot of mutual Assistance and Support, the Number of Troops to be furnished by the States reciprocally to be 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horse.

There remained a great Question, which has not yet been thoroughly resolved on, *viz.* Whether his *Britannick Majesty* should be moved to use his Interest with the Emperor, to come into this Treaty, and to adhere firmly to the *Renunciations*, whatever private Offers might be made by King *Philip* to the Court at *Vienna* for other Measures.

The Proposal had Weight in it, and it was not to be thought that such penetrating Heads, as composed this little Congress, should be at a Loss to know what it meant. You must know, that it is sometime since that Intimation has been given, That it is, at any Time, easie for King *Philip*, if the present King of *France* should die, to engage the Emperor to quit to him the Obligation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the *Renunciations*, and join the whole Power of the House of *Austria* to place King *Philip* on the Throne of *France*, *viz.*

by

by stipulating with the Emperor, to give to him (the Emperor) the whole Spanish Monarchy, and putting him in a peaceable possession thereof: It was not without Reason, therefore, that this last Proposal was made, which, however it was fully apprehended, we do not find they intend to insist upon, because it really does not appear feasible; but we have been told, the Ministers of France abroad, will have Instructions to make the Attempt; which if it fails, while they have the Kings of Great-Britain and Sweden, with the States of Holland with them, they think there is the less need to fear the Emperor's succeeding in such an Attempt; which, at best, would but involve Europe in a terrible War, wherein the Maritime Powers, being all on one Side, it would not be difficult to seize on the Spanish-West-Indies at the Beginning of the Breach, and by the immediate Treasure to be drawn from thence, and the other infinite Advantages of Commerce, furnish themselves with Means to carry on the War.

What remained, is to hint to you only what you in England know as much of as we, viz. That it is said Mr. Ibberville, who had been in the Beginning of this Secret, came hither on purpose to receive his farther Instructions in this nice Affair; and being entrusted to carry over the Engrossment of this Treaty, managed it so well, that it met with very little Obstruction in England, and is now in a fair way of being finished; to the general Satisfaction of all Europe, under the Direction of his Britannick Majesty's Ministers at the Hague; where another private, but a very able well chosen Agent, the Abot du Bois, is joined with the Marquis de Chateauneuf in this important Negotiation.

In the mean Time, nothing has been more surprizing to the Court of Madrid than this Affair; after the finishing of which, I doubt not we shall find the Court of France will talk to them in another Language; and possibly let King Philip know, that he has not made a suitable Return to the House of Bourbon, for Sixteen Hundred Millions spent, and the Blood of Two Hundred Thousand Frenchmen spilt, in securing to him the Possession of the Spanish Throne, and at last running the Hazard of France itself, which was reduced to the Brink of Destruction, only because Lewis XIV. refused to join his Power to oblige him, Philip, to give up the Crown of Spain.

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If King *Philip* refuses us Satisfaction on that Head, I believe the Time will come, when the Regent will endeavour to do Himself and the *French Nation* Justice, in those *West Indies*, from whence he is so willing to exclude our Ships from Trading; while, by Contract, he has conceded the same Privilege to the *South-Sea-Company* in *England*. But the Juncture for these things is not yet; our present Business is to get this *New Alliance* finished, and signed, and then the Regent may think himself safe, against all his Enemies at Home and Abroad, which indeed is the Reason why he is so willing to give up such Points to *England*, as you see now he does; and as, in a better Posture of Affairs, he would never submit to.

F I N I S